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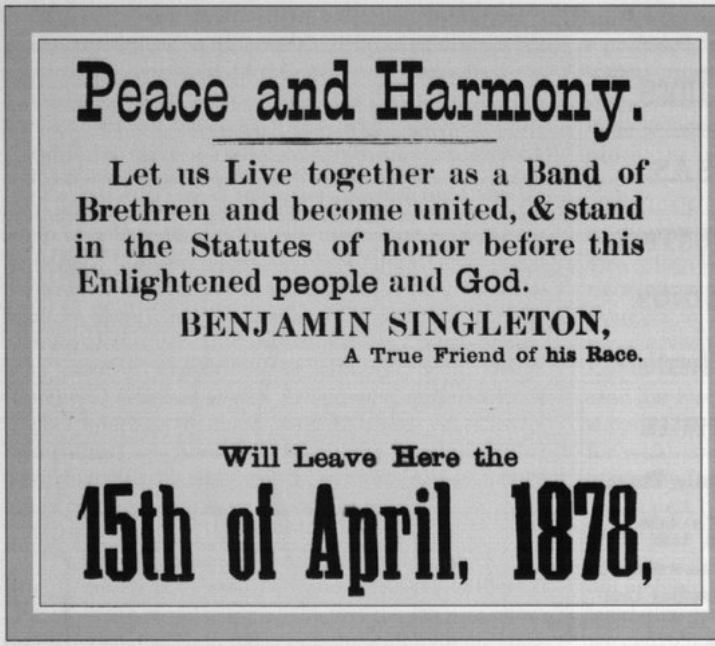


Kansas's reputation for housing abolitionists and suffragists, along with its fertile soil and expanding railroad tracks, attracted an increasing number of African Americans to the state in the 1870s. Perhaps the most famous advocate for black migration to Kansas was Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, an ex-slave from Tennessee who encouraged and organized emigration to the state as early as the mid-1870s.

Kansas's reputation for housing abolitionists and suffragists, along with its fertile soil and expanding railroad tracks, attracted an increasing number of African Americans to the state in the 1870s. As early as 1871 the *New National Era*, a black newspaper in Washington, D.C., began urging African Americans to escape oppression in the South and head west to such places as Kansas and Nebraska. Some black migrants continued to funnel into cities such as Topeka and Lawrence, but others began establishing all-black colonies in counties where affordable land was available. One handbill announced, "Ho for Sunny Kansas," and promised potential migrants that "Land is cheap. . . . There is plenty for all at present."[20] Perhaps the most famous advocate for black migration to Kansas in the 1870s was Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, an ex-slave from Tennessee who encouraged and organized emigration to the state as early as the mid-1870s. Nicodemus, the most famous black colony, also has roots in the pre-Exodus migration period and was established in 1877 by white Indiana preacher W. R. Hill and a group of Topeka blacks.[21]

These and other small colonies provided a few of the destination points for the more famous "Kansas Fever Exodus" that occurred in 1879. During the massive migration, roughly six thousand blacks from such deep-southern states as Louisiana and Mississippi flooded to Kansas. The *New Orleans Weekly Louisianan* reported from Delta, Louisiana, that "the banks of the river [are] literally covered with colored people and their little store of worldly goods." The newspaper further noted that local blacks were "panic stricken" and were "leaving by the hundreds for Kansas." As several historians have made clear, the increasing disenfranchisement and racial violence against blacks in the South following white Democrats' "Redemption" in 1877 caused many blacks to catch the exodus bug; most of the civil and economic rights they had begun to

20. Exoduster Handbill, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society; Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*, 171–72.

21. Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*, 171–75; Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 75–76; Gary Entz, "Image and Reality on the Kansas Prairie: 'Pap' Singleton's Cherokee County Colony," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 19 (Summer 1996): 124–39; Kenneth Marvin Hamilton, "The Origins and Early Promotion of Nicodemus: A Pre-Exodus, All-Black Town," ibid. 5 (Winter 1982): 220.

enjoy during Reconstruction crumbled in the wake of the removal of federal troops and the increase in lynching and violence in the deep South.[22]

While the political and economic climate in the South pushed these migrants away, the enduring reputation of Kansas as the land of freedom pulled these disillusioned black southerners to its borders. As Topeka's *Colored Citizen* proclaimed in 1879, "Kansas, is a free empire, and every man in it, black, white, or mixed, will be secure in his rights before the law. Kansas, in war and in peace, has always had the courage of her principles."[23] Similarly, the *Weekly Louisianan* reported that "Kansas, with her freedom and broad prairies, with the memories of John Brown and his heroic struggle, seems naturally the State to seek. There is a natural halo of liberty, justice and right about its very name."[24] Because of these factors, the state witnessed a massive increase in its black population. The 1880 census counted more than forty-three thousand blacks in Kansas, more than 2.5 times the number who resided there just a decade earlier.[25]

What opportunities awaited these black migrants in the land of John Brown? As historian Nell Painter aptly put it, "Kansas was no Canaan, but it was a far cry from Mississippi and Louisiana. . . . The sad fact was that first-class citizenship existed nowhere in this country for Afro-Americans."[26] Unlike the Deep South during the Jim Crow era, Kansas afforded some basic civil rights, such as voting and public school attendance, to its African American residents. For example, roughly 80 percent of black Topekans were literate by 1895, the city sponsored six African American newspapers, and groups such as the Negro Convention agitated for black economic and political rights and supported Republican candidates. Such men as Alfred Fairfax, who had been elected to Congress in his home state of Louisiana in 1878 but was not allowed to serve because of racial violence and intimidation there, moved his family to Kansas after his trials in Louisiana. In 1889 he became the first black Kansan elected to the state legislature.[27]

In addition to exercising rights denied to them in the South, some African Americans managed to make a fortune in Kansas. One colorful example of these financially successful black migrants is Junius Groves, the "Potato King of the World." Born in Kentucky in 1859, Groves migrated to Kansas in 1878 where he first worked in the meatpacking houses in Armourdale. He saved enough money to purchase eighty acres of land in Edwardsville, and eventually his estate grew to more than five hundred acres. The potato farm produced "mammoth crops" and enabled Groves and his wife, Matilda, to build a twenty-room mansion. Other black Kansans owned land and earned respectable livings, such as John M. Brown, who ran a hundred-acre farm in Shawnee County and was elected county clerk in 1880.[28]

The bulk of migrants to Kansas in the 1870s and 1880s, however, worked as common laborers and suffered from poverty and prejudice. Unlike some of their predecessors, the exodusters of 1879–1880 arrived in the region with little or no money and possessed very few educational or occupational skills. Those who could find work often labored on farms or in small towns for menial wages, and even migrants who were able to rent or own land suffered from a lack of knowledge and experience with the local crops and climate. One Atchison resident wrote to the editor of the *Weekly Louisianan* and warned African Americans of the different crop systems: "Kansas . . . is grain country. . . . Emigrants coming here from the South skilled only in the production of cotton and sugar cane will be a failure."[29] Kansas certainly was not cotton country, and many blacks found it difficult to adjust to the new climate and agricultural environment. In addition to the migrants' lack of

22. *New Orleans Weekly Louisianan*, March 15, 1879; Painter, *Exodusters*, 184, most extensively explores the "push" factors.

23. *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), April 12, 1879; item carried in the *Baltimore American Citizen*, April 19, 1879. First published in Fort Scott, Kansas, the *Colored Citizen* moved to Topeka in July 1878. Editor William L. Eagleson consistently was critical of white prejudice but encouraged black migration to Kansas.

24. *New Orleans Weekly Louisianan*, April 26, 1879.

25. For census numbers, *see* Richard B. Sheridan, "From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contraband into Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 12 (Spring 1989): 38; Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*, 170. This number does not include those who may have left for Kansas and never made it, had arrived and returned home, or had moved on to points farther north or west. The actual volume of African Americans who left the South bound for Kansas may never be known.

26. Painter, *Exodusters*, 260.

27. "Notable Kansans of African Descent," www.kshs.org/people/african_americans.htm. *See also American Citizen* (Topeka), February 1, 8, 1889; Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas*, 82–84, 119.

28. *Kansas City Journal*, August 18, 1894; Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 278. For a short biography of Groves, *see* David Hann, *The Kansas Past: Pieces of the 34th Star* (Lawrence: Penthe Publishing, 1999), 8–11; *see also* Anne P. W. Hawkins, "Hoeing Their Own Row: Black Agriculture and the Agrarian Ideal in Kansas, 1880–1930," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 22 (Autumn 1999): 200–13.

29. *New Orleans Weekly Louisianan*, May 24, 1879.

skills and unfamiliarity with Kansas agriculture, they faced what all other farmers faced in the 1880s—the uncertainty of nature. Drought and crop failures, especially in the western counties, made establishing a homestead and farm all the more challenging.[30]

Adding to the regular trials that faced both black and white pioneers, African Americans confronted racism and prejudice that compounded their problems in Kansas. The *Colored Citizen* recognized that whites were becoming increasingly alarmed at the influx of African American migrants to the state during the 1879 exodus, and they argued that racial prejudice motivated these white concerns:

> We notice that several of the white newspapers of Kansas are howling at a terrible rate because some colored people are coming in to the State without bringing fortunes with them. We want to say to all such papers that thousands of white people are coming to Kansas every day without a dollar in their pockets and never a howl was heard till the colored people got to doing the same thing.[31]

The white population was not universally welcoming, but the increasing racial violence that pervaded the Deep South by the late nineteenth century was not as prevalent on the Kansas plains. Lynchings did occur in the state, however. One source counted 206 lynchings in Kansas between 1861 and 1933; thirty-eight of the victims had been black men. Frontier justice, whether for stealing horses, murder, or rape, often was the fate for blacks and whites, but blacks were more likely to be the victims of mobs than whites when accused of sexual assault. A black man accused of assaulting a twelve-year-old girl was hanged and then burned by a mob in Fort Scott in 1879. Another black man was lynched in Topeka in 1889 after he killed a white man.[32] Kansas was not the Deep South, but it shared many of its characteristics.

Most blacks—in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—faced milder forms of racial prejudice, such as segregation in elementary schools, exclusion in public accommodations, and limited employment opportunities. But despite the existence of a state antidiscrimination statute, segregation and discrimination were facts of life. The *Herald of Kansas* reported on "The Color Line" in 1880, and it chastised the local Republican newspaper for endorsing it. Although the paper in question, the *Commonwealth*, was a "professed friend of the Negro," its editors refused to employ a black man in their office. In his book on black Topeka, historian Thomas Cox maintains that "By 1896, evidence of discrimination in 'cheap restaurants,' elevators, and in nearly every other area of public life frequently appeared in the columns of the local black press."[33]

A color line did exist in Kansas by the turn of the twentieth century, but it was not drawn as boldly as in the South. Legal scholar Mary L. Dudziak asserts that Kansas occupied a "middle ground" between the *de jure* segregation in the Jim Crow South and the relative lack of state-enforced segregation in the North. Kansas practiced what might be called limited or partial segregation; that is, state laws segregated blacks in some parts of public life yet prohibited the practice in others. While seemingly contradictory to Kansans and to most Americans at the time, civil rights and segregation were "compatible concepts." Dudziak concludes that Kansans were wary of "[g]ranting too great a legal status" to segregation, which they believed "would conflict with the heritage of 'Bleeding Kansas.'" In other words, by limiting segregation to elementary schools only in cities of the first-class (those with populations of fifteen thousand or more), Kansas legislators could impose a racial hierarchy yet claim that the law was racially neutral.[34]

Historian Randall B. Woods argues that it was unnecessary for Kansas to replicate Jim Crow. "Blacks did not constitute enough of a political or economic threat to warrant total ostracism," he contends. "Whites were certainly anxious to control the black population, but exclusion or pervasive segregation seemed unsuited to the state's particular history and circumstances." In what he calls "paral-

30. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 255–58, 263–64; *see also* Painter, *Exodusters*, 225–33.

31. "Stop Howling," *Colored Citizen*, March 22, 1879, in *New Orleans Weekly Louisianan*, March 29, 1879.

32. Genevieve Yost, "History of Lynchings in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 2 (May 1933): 182–219, in Leiker, "Race Relations in the Sunflower State," 218; Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 71; Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas*, 116. Cox also reports that another lynching occurred in Fort Scott in 1881.

33. Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas*, 117–19; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 24, 1888; Kansas *Laws* (1885) ch. 31, sec. 343, "Civil Rights." The original law took effect April 25, 1874. *See* ibid. (1874), ch. 49, sec. 2; *Herald of Kansas*, April 23, 1880. The *Colored Citizen* changed its name to the *Herald of Kansas* in an effort to abolish the common usage of the word "colored" when denoting black citizens.

34. Mary L. Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith: Desegregation in Topeka, Kansas, 1950–1956," *Law and History Review* 5 (Fall 1987): 351–52; Leiker, "Race Relations in the Sunflower State," 225–26.

Most blacks in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries faced milder forms of racial prejudice, such as segregation in elementary schools. Because Kansas practiced what might be called partial segregation, state laws limited segregation to elementary schools only in cities of the first-class. By doing so Kansas legislators could impose a racial hierarchy while proclaiming the law racially neutral. Shown here are Corinthian Nutter and her elementary students in ca. 1948 at the segregated Walker School in South Park, Johnson County.

lel development," Woods asserts that under this model the state accepted the responsibility of providing education and moral guidance for all its citizens—black and white—but little more. It was not the state's obligation to ensure equality of condition for blacks, but rather it was up to each individual to take advantage of these opportunities and succeed of his or her own accord.[35] By residing in this middle ground of partial segregation, African Americans in Kansas were denied their full rights as citizens yet had space—socially, politically, and culturally—to carve out a measure of autonomy for themselves and their families.

Although black Kansans confronted racism, segregation, and exclusion, the state held a strong attraction for them. Kansas, as the land of John Brown, afforded psychological space to African Americans. Brown became an icon of the struggle for freedom, and blacks especially held him in high regard. In June 1911, for example, African Americans erected a statue of Brown at Western University in Quindaro, Kansas. The fourteen-foot-tall statue was paid for through a fund drive launched in 1909 that raised more than two thousand dollars. The inscription on the statue reads, "Erected to the Memory of John Brown by a grateful people."[36]

Indeed, the imagery of Kansas's territorial days—and the iconography of John Brown in particular—was embedded firmly in the state's collective consciousness well into the twentieth century. Yet the memory of Bleeding Kansas operated mainly on a rhetorical and metaphysical level. For twentieth-century Kansans, Bleeding Kansas carried a set of assumptions about their home and themselves, Kansas's place in the Union, and about the nature of race relations. For African Americans it held out hope for the future. For white Kansans it allowed them to distinguish the state from the South, which, most Americans outside of that region believed, was the real source of the nation's racial tensions and problems. On another level, the free-state narrative absolved Kansans, at least in their own minds, of having any responsibility in addressing the race question. While the state's territorial past inspired some Kansans to continue to struggle for equality and justice, for others it meant that Kansas had already done its part to defend liberty and free black Americans.

35. Randall B. Woods, "Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation?: The 'Color Line' in Kansas, 1878–1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (April 1983): 197.

36. "Monument to Brown Will Be Unveiled," *Kansas City Star*, June 3, 1911.

Because John Brown became an icon of the struggle for freedom, blacks held him in high regard. In June 1911, for example, African Americans erected a statue of Brown at Western University in Quindaro, Kansas. The inscription on the statue reads, "Erected to the Memory of John Brown by a grateful people."

The emotional appeal of Kansas perhaps was not as intense for twentieth-century African Americans as it had been for the exodusters, but Kansas still was their home. For one African American, who had not lived in the state for years, Kansas held a "strong attachment" as his "spiritual anchor" because most of his father's people were there. Other black Kansans expressed a similar sentiment. Native Topekan John Brooks Slaughter, who attended the black-only Buchanan elementary school in the 1940s and earned a degree in electrical engineering from Kansas State University before heading elsewhere to ply his trade, was "very pleased" to have grown up in Kansas. "I believe that the values instilled in me by my family in Kansas have been very important throughout my life," he remarked in the early 1990s. "Even though I left Kansas when I was 22, it will forever be a part of the things that are important to me." "With all of its faults," declared Walter Doyce Broadnax, who as an infant came to Hoisington with his family in 1944, Kansas "was a good environment within which to grow and learn."[37]

But it was a limited environment for many blacks, and many African Americans left Kansas because there were so few employment opportunities available to them, particularly in white-collar jobs. George Brown, the first black state senator in Colorado and an assistant editor for the *Denver Post*, was raised in Lawrence. He left the state because he could not find employment that he "was qualified for and capable of doing" in his hometown.[38] Michael Shinn, who attended Monroe School with Linda Brown, was "glad" that he was raised in Kansas because the state had "a good educational system" and he was "exposed to basic values of honesty and integrity, without a lot of the hazards that children grow up with in large cities." But, he added wistfully, "I wish I could have experienced working at some company in the Kansas area, or at least perceived that I could have gone to work at some company and had opportunities."[39]

Statistics bear out Brown's and Shinn's recollections. According to the 1950 United States Census, 16,672 black men were employed in the state; only 502 (3 percent) were counted as professional, technical, and kindred workers. For black women the opportunities were even fewer. The two largest categories of work for black men were laborers (4,931, or 29.5 percent of all black male workers) and service workers (4,092, or 24.5 percent); similar figures applied to women workers. Although Kansas's colleges and universities had always admitted black students, the percentage of white Kansans who attended college was about twice that of blacks; the ratio was nearly three-to-one for four years or more of college completed. On average, blacks earned considerably less than whites. In 1949 the

37. Walter Doyce Broadnax entry, "Narratives by African Americans with Kansas Connections," in Jacob U. Gordon, *Narratives of African Americans in Kansas, 1870–1992: Beyond the Exodust Movement* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1993), 40; William Patrick Foster, ibid., 65; Willard Johnson, ibid. 111; Michael Shinn, ibid. 150; John Brooks Slaughter, ibid. 165.

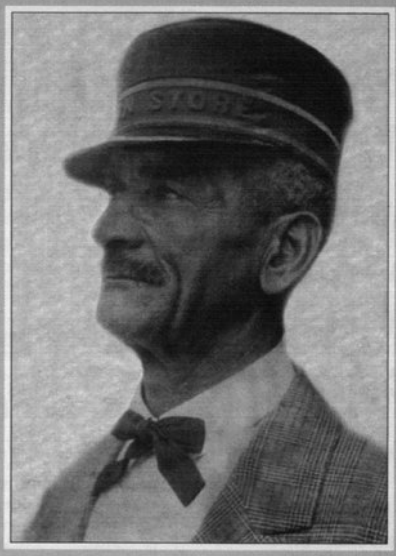
38. "Lawrence Indicted for Discrimination," *University Daily Kansan*, February 20, 1961; "Brown Declares City Too Lax on Civil Rights," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 20, 1961.

39. Shinn entry in Gordon, *Narratives of African Americans in Kansas*, 150.

average annual income for whites was $1,839; for blacks it was $1,253. In Topeka the disparity was even greater. An African American earned an average of $1,160 compared with $2,132 average for whites.[40] Michael Shinn's life trajectory was not uncommon among African Americans from Kansas, which again points to the racial paradox that was the Sunflower State. Kansas provided access to higher education that was out of the reach of most Southern blacks, yet the state could not provide employment opportunities for African Americans in white-collar jobs and the professions. George Washington Carver, George Nash Walker, Oscar DePriest, Langston Hughes, Aaron Douglas, Eva Jessye, and Gordon Parks are some of the best-known African Americans who were raised in Kansas but achieved success elsewhere.[41]

Thus, the twentieth-century color line was enigmatic, which meant that mounting a challenge to it would be difficult but not impossible. In Kansas African Americans had social, political, or economic space in which to live, work, and ultimately challenge segregation, exclusion, and discrimination.

The nineteenth-century struggle for equality in Kansas revolved around the question of slavery; in the twentieth century the struggle would focus on eliminating the two-tiered social and political system that denied blacks their full rights as American citizens. Segregation was not always the biggest problem confronting African Americans. In many ways segregation was a better situation for blacks than outright exclusion. Segregated schools often gave African Americans some control over their children's education, and black teachers provided quality education to and served as important role models for black children. Racial exclusion, in contrast, prevented African Americans from complete access to the state's political economy, especially in its job and housing markets. In Lawrence, for example, in the years before *Brown*, African Americans were not segregated in hotels, restaurants, taverns, bowling alleys, roller rinks, and other places of public accommodation but were excluded altogether. Housing was not segregated by law, but blacks were excluded from most of the city through restrictive covenants and the racism of realtors and home owners, who would show blacks homes only in certain areas of the community.



Kansas provided blacks access to higher education, yet the state could not provide employment opportunities for African Americans in white-collar jobs. For example, W. C. Neely (above in 1927) worked for more than twenty years as a utility man for the Boston Store in Wichita.

Across the state African Americans adopted a variety of tactics and strategies for combating the color line. At times blacks utilized the existing political system, through direct appeals to the courts, school boards, and city councils, to insist that the state provide equal access and opportunity, rather than full integration. By mid-century African Americans had begun to use other means, such as sit-ins, pickets, and other nonviolent direct action. For example, in the 1940s blacks in Lawrence used such tactics—unsuccessfully—in an effort to compel integration in a Lawrence theater and restaurant.[42]

Perhaps no part of that struggle was more significant than the fight for equal education, which clearly illustrates

40. *See* U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: *Characteristics of the Population, 1950*, vol. 11, pt. 16, Kansas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), tables 20, 77, 87.

41. *See*, among others, Gordon, *Narratives of African Americans in Kansas*, 147–150, especially the narratives by Parks, 127–35, Jessye, 105–10.

42. Kristine M. McCusker, "'The Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: Wartime Protests at the University of Kansas, 1939–1945," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (Spring 1994): 26–37.

Negro Alleges Discrimination In Hotel Suit

The Kansan Hotel Co. and the Hotel Kansan Operating Co. were defendants in a $25,000 dam- in the Federal Mo.,

Special Space, but—

Santa Fe Says It Never Forced Train Segregation

Santa Fe offices in Topeka Friday issued a "no comment" state- in reference to a ruling by Commerce com-

Kansas Town Rejects 12 Negro Pupils

BY JERRY FETTEROLF
of The Daily Capital Staff

BONNER SPRINGS—Twelve Negro pupils were refused admittance to two all-white schools of Bonner Springs this week. School board members told NAACP representatives no plans are being made to integrate the races until next year.

C. H. Branson, superintendent of schools, told The Daily Capital Friday night he follow

Negroes Forced From Restaurant

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—(AP)—Six Negro youths were forcibly removed Saturday from a restaurant, which they had refused to leave until they were served food.

They were taken to police headquarters and then released.

Police were called to the place when waitresses declined to serve the youths. The officers asked the youths to leave voluntarily and when they refused police removed them.

In the twentieth century the struggle for equality focused on eliminating the two-tiered social and political system that denied blacks their full rights. Exclusion, rather than segregation, was a serious problem for blacks in Kansas. These headlines from the 1950s and 1960s illustrate but a few examples of the inequity encountered by African Americans in the Sunflower State.

the enigmatic quality of Kansas's commitment to racial equality. Kansans may not have welcomed blacks to the state, but they did generally agree that African Americans were entitled to free public education, although not necessarily in integrated schools. The first state legislature in 1861 granted the power to establish separate schools for black and white children, "securing to them equal advantages."[43] In 1876 lawmakers prohibited segregated schools, including institutions of higher education. Three years later the experiment ended when the legislature passed a law that permitted, but did not require, cities of the first-class to segregate students in the elementary schools. (The prohibition against segregation in higher education was retained.) The law did not allow segregation in the high schools, although it was amended in 1905 to permit Kansas City to open a separate high school for its black students. Smaller communities, the Kansas Supreme Court ruled in 1881, could not legally segregate since the statute did not expressly give those communities that right. Many school districts simply ignored the law, and local jurisdictions did not enforce the statute. As James C. Carper has pointed out, African Americans living in smaller communities often were segregated through "community pressure, violence, and occasionally, choice."[44]

Although Randall B. Woods concludes that segregated schools both in cities of the first-class and in smaller communities were "grossly inferior," this does not seem to be true in all instances. As the plaintiffs in the *Brown* case admitted, Topeka's black-only schools were equal to its white-only schools. Most African Americans in Lawrence agreed that the city's schools did well by their black students. Most evidence suggests that overall the quality of education for black children in both integrated and black-only schools was good.[45]

This did not mean that African Americans did not challenge the color line in public schooling. Between 1881 and 1949 at least ten lawsuits involving segregation in Kansas's public schools were filed, three of those in Topeka.[46] Before

43. Kansas *Laws* (1861), ch. 76, in Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith," 357.

44. James C. Carper, "The Popular Ideology of Segregated Schooling: Attitudes Toward the Education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854–1900, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 1 (Winter 1978): 263; Milton S. Katz and Susan B. Tucker, "A Pioneer in Civil Rights: Esther Brown and the South Park Desegregation Case of 1948," ibid. 18 (Winter 1995–1996): 239–40.

45. Woods, "Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation?" 188; Deborah L. Dandridge and William M. Tuttle Jr., "Kansas," in *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History*, ed. Jack Salzman, David Lionel Smith, and Cornel West (New York: Macmillan Library Reference, 1996), 1521, disagree with Woods, asserting that "African–American children generally received good educations in Kansas whether in integrated or all-black schools." On Lawrence's schools, *see* Rusty Monhollon, *"This is America?": The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 98–99.

46. The cases are: *Board of Education of Ottawa v Elijah Tinnon*, 26 Kan. 1 (1881); *Knox v Board of Education, Independence*, 45 Kan. 152 (1891); *Reynolds v Board of Education, Topeka*, 66 Kan. 672 (1903); *Cartwright v Board of Education, Coffeyville*, 73 Kan. 32 (1906); *Rowles v Board of Education, Wichita*, 76 Kan. 361 (1907); *Williams v Board of Education, Parsons*, 79 Kan. 202

Brown, however, most challenges to the segregation law were prompted by blacks' desires to have their children attend the school closest to their homes. This was true in Topeka, where before 1930 the school board did not apply its segregation policy uniformly but rather did so haphazardly. When the integrated Lowman Hill School burned in 1900, for example, the Topeka School Board transferred Lowman's thirty-five black students to the all-black Buchanan School. A new Lowman Hill School was constructed, but only white children were permitted to attend. In 1903 William Reynolds, an African American whose son had attended the destroyed school, brought suit against the board for compelling his child to attend an all-black school, which was much farther away from his home than the rebuilt Lowman Hill School. The Kansas Supreme Court found that the 1876 statute permitting segregation was not unconstitutional as the state's constitution had left it to the legislature to determine how best to provide an equal education to all of its residents, black or white, male or female, urban or rural. The court also rejected the claim that the law violated the U.S. Constitution, grounding its claim on the 1896 *Plessy v Ferguson* decision. The court's ruling in *Reynolds v Board of Education* "validated" the Kansas laws that permitted segregation in some areas of public life yet prohibited it in others. According to Mary Dudziak, the only legal questions left for the courts to decide between *Reynolds* and *Brown* were "the refinement and application of these principles."[47]

Despite the state's imposition of an awkward system of segregation, some African Americans were inspired by the rhetoric of "free" Kansas and democracy to fight against segregation. During World War I a Topeka resident urged governor-elect Henry J. Allen to oppose legislation permitting segregation in cities of the second- and third-class. "We, the colored people of this state, are opposed to further segregation" in Kansas, he wrote, because "[s]uch action is undemocratic . . . and inconsistent with Kansas history." Kansas was, he noted, a "progressive" state, but when it came to the "race question" the state was "reactionary." America's entry into world war, and its "slogan of 'Democracy for the World,' obligates us morally to an advanced movement at home relative to our treatment" of blacks. This writer was fully aware of the harm segregation did to black children, arguing that segregation "tends to lower the segregated class both in its own estimation and in that of its fellows," a position the U.S. Supreme Court would affirm in *Brown*.[48]

Building on these principles, in the late 1920s African Americans in Topeka again challenged segregated schools in *Wright v Board of Education* (1929).[49] As in *Reynolds*, the *Wright* case did not challenge segregation *per se* but what plaintiffs felt was "arbitrary segregation." The plaintiffs contended that the school board had not applied its attendance policies uniformly, and, on a case-by-case basis, some black children had attended white schools. The main concern in each of these cases again was the proximity of the school to their homes. The *Wright* ruling, in which the Kansas Supreme Court again ruled in favor of the Topeka school district, seemed to prompt the board to apply its enrollment policy uniformly throughout the district, strictly segregating black and white children.[50]

In 1940 another lawsuit was brought against Topeka's segregated public schools in *Graham v Topeka Board of Education*, which focused on the city's junior high schools.[51] When the Kansas legislature passed a law in 1925 establishing a junior high school system, it was unclear if the statutes permitting segregation in the elementary grades applied to junior high schools. Black children in Topeka at the time attended the seventh and eighth grades at one of the four segregated elementary schools or at the black-only Roosevelt Junior High School. The *Graham* case also raised the question of equality between white-only and black-only schools. The plaintiffs argued that the Roosevelt school was inferior to the other junior high schools in Topeka. The plaintiffs won this suit, and the courts ordered Topeka's junior high schools integrated. In reassigning students to comply with the court order, the school board fired six black schoolteachers and cut two others to half-time.[52]

Perhaps the most important school integration case prior to *Brown*, at least from a political and cultural perspective, was *Webb v Johnson County School District No. 90*. The small community of South Park was an un-

(1908); *Thurman-Watts v Board of Education, Coffeyville*, 115 Kan. 328 (1924); *Wright v Board of Education, Topeka*, 129 Kan. 852 (1929); *Graham v Board of Education, Topeka*, 153 Kan. 840 (1941); *Webb v School District No. 90, South Park Johnson County, Kansas*, 167 Kan. 395 (1949). Digitized versions of these cases can be found at http://brownvboard.org/research/opinions/opinions.htm (retrieved August 29, 2003).

47. *Reynolds v Board of Education of the City of Topeka*, 66 Kan 672 (1903); Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith," 359–62.

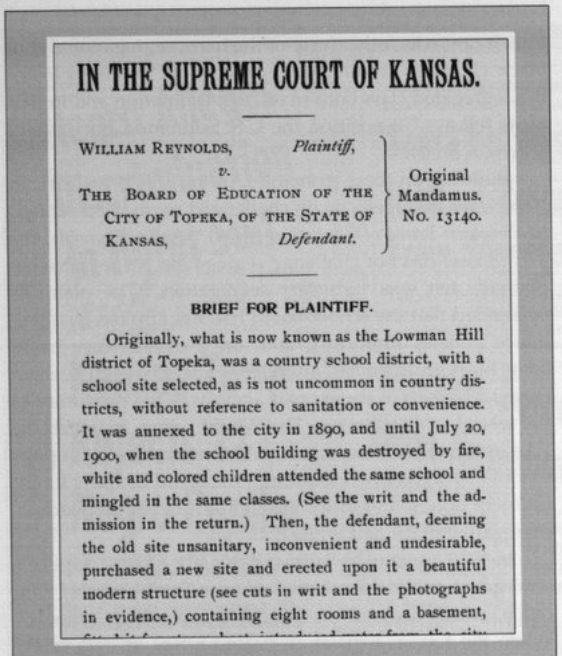
48. N. Sawyer to Henry J. Allen, January 11, 1918 [*sic*, 1919], Correspondence, Henry J. Allen Administration, Records of the Governor's Office, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.

49. *Wright v Topeka Board of Education*, 129 Kan. 852 (1930).

50. Jean Van Delinder, "Early Civil Rights Activism in Topeka, Kansas, Prior to the 1954 Brown Case," *Great Plains Quarterly* 21 (Winter 2001): 50–52.

51. *Graham v Board of Education*, 153 Kan. 840 (1941)

52. Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith," 374.



IN THE SUPREME COURT OF KANSAS.

WILLIAM REYNOLDS, *Plaintiff*,
v.
THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF TOPEKA, OF THE STATE OF KANSAS, *Defendant*.
Original Mandamus. No. 13140.

BRIEF FOR PLAINTIFF.

Originally, what is now known as the Lowman Hill district of Topeka, was a country school district, with a school site selected, as is not uncommon in country districts, without reference to sanitation or convenience. It was annexed to the city in 1890, and until July 20, 1900, when the school building was destroyed by fire, white and colored children attended the same school and mingled in the same classes. (See the writ and the admission in the return.) Then, the defendant, deeming the old site unsanitary, inconvenient and undesirable, purchased a new site and erected upon it a beautiful modern structure (see cuts in writ and the photographs in evidence,) containing eight rooms and a basement,

When the integrated Lowman Hill School burned in 1900, the Topeka School Board transferred Lowman's black students to the all-black Buchanan School. A new Lowman Hill School was constructed, but only white children were permitted to attend. When William Reynolds brought suit against the board for compelling his child to attend an all-black school rather than Lowman Hill, the Kansas Supreme Court found that segregation was not unconstitutional.

incorporated township in southern Johnson County, just beyond the Merriam city limits. In 1947 the Johnson County School District No. 90 built a ninety-thousand-dollar school open only to white students, which clearly seemed to violate the Kansas law that prohibited segregation except in cities of the first-class. The forty-four black students in the district, whose parents' tax dollars had helped finance the new building, were sent to the old Walker School, a ramshackle two-room structure. Walker School fit the description of black schoolhouses in the Deep South: toilet facilities consisted of an outhouse; it had inadequate heating, a flooded basement, and was otherwise poorly maintained; two teachers—one who was not certified—taught all eight grades in the school's two classrooms. Led by Esther Brown, a white suburban housewife, and Helen Swan, her black maid whose daughter attended Walker School, African Americans in South Park formed a chapter of the NAACP and eventually brought suit against the school board. In traversing the state seeking support and funds for the case, Esther Brown played a crucial role in the *Webb* case and linked it to the state's territorial past and the nation's current fight against communism. "[W]e must be as stubborn in our devotion to a principle as the abolitionists of a century ago—the times demand it, the defense of our country demands it." The case was litigated by Elisha Scott of Topeka, and his sons John and Charles, all of whom later would be involved in the *Brown* case.[53]

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs on June 11, 1949, finding that the school district's attendance policy was "arbitrary," "unreasonable," and meant only to segregate black children, a clear violation of Kansas law. The court ordered the district to make Walker School comparably equal to the white-only South Park school, either through extensive remodeling or by building a new structure. The school board tried to circumvent the court's order by offering to build another classroom and install indoor plumbing at Walker School, but the black parents refused to send their children to Walker. The district next offered to build a new, sixty-thousand-dollar school by spending five thousand dollars per year for twelve years; the parents refused this offer too. On September 9 black children enrolled at South Park and on September 12 attended the integrated school. The *Webb* case also had compelled the school district to enroll seven black students at Shawnee Mission High School rather than bus them to the all-black Sumner High in downtown Kansas City, as they previously had done.[54]

The *South Park* case was an important precursor to *Brown*. Esther Brown and Elisha Scott, key players in the *Webb* case, also were major actors in *Brown*. There were, however, some significant differences. The Johnson County School District did not have the authority under Kansas law to segregate its schools. Moreover, Walker School could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be seen as equal to the white-only South Park School and thus violated the separate but equal principle set down in *Plessy*. These distinctions would not be as clear in *Brown*. Topeka had the right, under Kansas law, to segregate its elementary schools, and its schools were comparably equal, thus meeting the constitutional conditions. At the heart of the plaintiffs' arguments in the *Brown* cases was the claim that

53. Katz and Tucker, "A Pioneer in Civil Rights," 240–41. Esther Brown quotation in *Call* (Kansas City, Mo.), September 24, 1948.
54. Ibid., 243–45

segregated schools were a violation of black children's rights to the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Not only was the relative equality or inequality of segregated educational facilities at issue but also the emotional and psychological impact that segregated learning had on black children.

If any school district in the United States could stand up to the separate but equal test it may have been Topeka's. Kenneth McFarland became superintendent of the Topeka schools in 1942, and under his leadership the school board further entrenched racial segregation throughout the schools. McFarland embodied the prevailing sentiment among the white community, suggesting that perhaps by 1951 Topeka "was not ready for integration." One black Topekan described McFarland as "a prejudiced man who believed there would be far fewer problems if the races were kept separate," yet the superintendent was careful to assure that blacks received the same educational opportunities as whites.[55]

Indeed, in a strictly material sense, one would have to look long and hard to find any significant signs of inequality among Topeka's elementary schools. Topeka's four black-only elementary schools served 658 black students (about 165 students per building). Each building was the equal of the eighteen white schools that accommodated 6,019 pupils (about 335 students per building). Linda Brown's school, Monroe, for example, was built in 1926 to replace an eight-room building of the same name on an adjoining lot. Designed by a noted Topeka architect, the school had the latest amenities and facilities then available. It had thirteen classrooms, including a kindergarten area, administrative offices, and a gymnasium/auditorium. With brick and limestone masonry on the exterior, and maple hardwood and terrazzo flooring, tile wainscoting, steel window sashes, oak moldings, and sturdy wooden doors on the interior, Monroe School was one of the most modern in Topeka. Additionally, the school was staffed with outstanding educators, many of whom were better educated than their white counterparts in Topeka and received the same salary as white teachers.[56]

But tangible assets such as school buildings and textbooks were not the only criteria for judging the quality of one's education. Since the Topeka plaintiffs could not argue that Monroe School was inferior to white-only schools, the primary issue in the Kansas case, as it was in the other cases, was racial segregation's impact on public education and the minds of black children. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation did indeed have a detrimental impact on the quality of education black children received and declared that segregated public education violated the U.S. Constitution.

When the *Brown* case thrust Kansas into the national spotlight, many Kansans were outraged that their state was involved in what they regarded as a "Southern problem." Kansans were quite sensitive to criticism of their history of race relations, often taking refuge under the cloak of "free" Kansas. Yet Kansans frequently complained about the state of race relations in the South. The Kansas mainstream press typically ignored the extent of segregation in the state or characterized it as beneficial for blacks and in compliance with the law of the land.

People from across the country were surprised to see the land of John Brown named as a defendant in a school segregation case. In a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* editorial, for example, the editors asked how Kansas came to be involved in the *Brown* case. It was not "Southern in outlook" as were the four other defendants, which practiced segregation "by law." The *Post-Dispatch* noted that Kansas permitted segregation only in the lower grades in its larger cities, which, apparently, did not count as "segregation by law." More to the point, the paper was puzzled how Kansas, "founded as a state on the belief in equal rights" and which best "symbolized the conviction of the North," could be a party to such proceedings. "The shades of Governor Robinson and Jim Lane and the other Jayhawkers of a century ago would revolt" at any notion that separate could be equal. "It was not what they fought for, and it is questionable whether today's Kansas stands for segregation."[57]

Perhaps Kansas did not "stand for segregation" but it did abide the practice, if only to a limited degree. Most Kansans, it would seem, agreed with the *Post-Dispatch*'s assessment and chose to read history selectively. They cele-

55. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 382–83.

56. James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and its Troubled Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 32; Mark V. Tusnet, *The NAACP's Legal Strategy Against Segregated Education, 1925–1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 116

57. "'Why Kansas' Asks an Editor," *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 20, 1953.

All-Negro Schools Allegedly Inferior

Amendment Filed in Segregation Case

Topeka Negroes have filed an amendment to their original complaint against segregation in secondary schools, it was reported Saturday by the U. S. District court clerk's office.

The amendment was ordered by the court recently when the defendant, the Topeka Board of Education, asked for a more definite statement. The three-man court directed the plaintiffs to cite whether Negro schools are inferior in regard to the curriculum, teachers, physical plant or in other ways.

School Facilities for Negroes Here HeldComparable

3-Judge Court Finds for Topeka Board After Test Action

A three - judge Federal court Friday held maintenance of segregated schools in Topeka's first six grades was not unconstitutional and did not, under Supreme court decisions, violate the Fourteenth amendment.

High Court Will Rule on Topeka's Negro Schools

Case 1 of 2 Which Will Have Wide Effect on Segregation Issue

Washington, June 9 (AP)—The Supreme court Monday agreed to say whether segregation of white and Negro children in elementary public schools should be outlawed.

The court granted hearings on two appeals by Negro parents who claim segregation is a "stigmatiz-

People from across the country were surprised to see Kansas named as a defendant in what would become the most famous school segregation case in U.S. history. At the heart of the plaintiffs' arguments in the Brown case was the claim that segregated schools were a violation of black children's rights to the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Not only was the relative equality or inequality of segregated educational facilities at issue but also the emotional and psychological impact that segregated learning had on black children.

brated their free-state past and what they believed was Kansas's commitment to equality, yet they ignored the fact that the state sanctioned segregation. In a 1953 letter to Kansas governor Edward Arn, H. H. Robinson, superintendent of the Augusta public schools, was "surprised" and "chagrined" over Kansas's involvement in the *Brown* case. Robinson's dismay was, in part, the result of how he understood the state's history. "As I review those historical events that caused us to be called 'bleeding Kansas,'" Robinson wrote, "I wonder how we suddenly find ourselves represented before the United States Supreme Court opposed to those human rights for which our early settlers bled." That Kansas was defending segregation before the nation's highest court was, to Robinson, evidence that Kansas was "throwing the influence of our state against those principles for which we have always stood. I wonder who can make such a decision for us all, and how?" For his part, Arn seemed ambivalent about the case, remarking on one occasion "that the way to change our laws is to have the legislature do it in regular session, rather than have the courts declare our legislative enactments unconstitutional."[58] Yet, three months after the *Brown* decision was announced, Arn declared that Kansans "can especially honor" Booker T. Washington because "our state was settled by men and women unalterably opposed to slavery and Kansas itself was the scene of the bitter prelude to the Civil War."[59]

The response in Kansas to the court's decision in *Brown* varied, from exuberance to indifference to outright derision. O. E. Bittner of Kansas City, evoking the fears of many nineteenth-century Kansas settlers, defiantly declared that his children would "never attend any school which practices non-segregation! Non-segregation will eventually lead to inter-marriage!" Like many Americans, Bittner swore to "never accept or tolerate any social intermixing between the Negro race and myself. I will teach my

58. H. H. Robinson to Edward F. Arn, December 10, 1953, "Segregation," folder 16, Edward F. Arn Administration, Records of the Governor's Office, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society; Arn to Robinson, December 12, 1953, ibid.

59. Edward F. Arn to S. J. Phillips, August 30, 1954, "Race Relations, 1951–1954," folder 10, ibid.

children tolerance of all races, but I will also teach them the differance [*sic*]. You should always remember, Mother Nature has never allowed the beasts of the field or the bird on the wing to mix!"[60] Tom Barnes, of Independence, expressed similar views. He professed to respect "colored people" as he did whites and abhorred discrimination, yet he also claimed that "God Almighty" had created "definite distinction[s]" between blacks and whites.[61] Others were simply embarrassed by Kansas's involvement in the case. F. J. Cloud, a reporter with the *Leader-Courier* in Kingman, wrote to Kansas attorney general Harold Fatzer:

> I have never seen any explanation or excuse of why you horned in on this case to start with. If Topeka, or any other community, wants segregation, let them look out for themselves. You know—or should know—that you[r] action was contrary to the sentiment of a vast majority of Kansas and exposed the state to unjustifiable ridicule.[62]

Kansas's involvement in *Brown* once it reached the Supreme Court was minimal, in part, perhaps, to minimize the state's association with segregation. Even before the court handed down its ruling the Topeka Board of Education began desegregating its schools. Board member Harold Conrad defended the board's decision to act prior to the court's ruling, declaring that "segregation is not an American practice." The board also hailed the ruling, which board president Jacob Dickenson believed was "in the finest spirit of the law and true democracy."[63] The *Topeka Daily Capital* declared that the decision itself was the "greatest victory for the negroes since" the Emancipation Proclamation. The *Daily Capital* believed the ruling would have little impact on Topeka, referring to the board's desegregation plan, but it feared the decision would "arouse the traditional animosities between the races" in the South. The editorial struck a chord of resigned acceptance and respect for the nation's institutions and constitutional process. It also implicitly suggested that Kansas's involvement in the landmark case was accidental and, in many ways, unnecessary. The nation's real race problems were in the South, which had "persecuted" its slaves "beyond endurance" and "ignored" the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.[64] In many ways Kansans were not different from most other Americans, who also pointed fingers at the South. Racial discrimination, exclusion, and segregation never were confined to the southern United States and the "race question" was always a national, not a regional, issue. African Americans had always known these facts to be true.

If America's rhetoric of freedom and equality rang hollow for African Americans in the twentieth century, how could Kansas's claim as the "free state" have sounded true? Kansas's sense of identity stems primarily from its territorial heritage and the bloody fight against slavery. Bleeding Kansas was no less significant for its twentieth-century residents than it was for its nineteenth-century pioneers. Public memory, historian Michael Kammen has noted, is "ideologically important" because it creates a nation's—in this case a state's—sense of identity.[65] Yet that identity was paradoxical: Kansans had fought to end slavery, but they also permitted segregation to take root in the free-state soil. Kansas and the United States have not always measured up to the promise of their past. For African Americans in the twentieth century, both in Kansas and across the nation, the struggle for racial equality was in many ways a fight to redeem that promise. They drew on the state's abolitionist legacy in the battle for equality. Other Kansans looked to the state's territorial heritage not for inspiration but rather as justification for the status quo. Bleeding Kansas was proof to them that the state had given its full measure of devotion to the cause of racial equality and had firmly placed Kansas at the forefront of that struggle. Whether Kansas ever totally fulfills its free-state heritage—or the United States its own promise of the past—remains to be seen. A century of struggle by Kansans of color, however, brought both closer to redemption. KH

60. O. E. Bittner to Edward F. Arn, May 27, 1954, "Desegregation, 1954," folder 12, ibid.
61. Tom Barnes to Edward F. Arn, December 9, 1953, ibid.
62. F. J. Cloud to Harold Fatzer, July 8, 1954, "*Brown v Board Of Education* Files, 1951–1953," "Correspondence, May–September, 1954" box 1, re: Brown, Records of the Attorney General's Office, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.
63. Quotation in Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith," 351, 378.
64. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 18, 1954.
65. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 5, 13.

REVIEWS

Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era

by Nicole Etcheson

xiv + 370 pages, notes, bibliography, index.
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, cloth $35.00.

With the arrival of the sesquicentennial of the formation of Kansas Territory and the subsequent inauguration of the period known as Bleeding Kansas, the publication of a new study of this extremely complicated era comes at an opportune moment. Not only timely, Nicole Etcheson's *Bleeding Kansas* is also an excellent study of territorial Kansas, offering convincing explanations both for the conflicts within Kansas and for the importance of Kansas to national politics. Using a wide variety of primary sources and displaying an extensive knowledge of the relevant secondary literature, Etcheson expertly traces the extraordinarily complex series of maneuvers and counter-maneuvers of both the free-state and proslavery forces on the Kansas frontier. The intricacies of several proposed constitutions, competing governments, small-scale warfare, and a merry-go-round of governors are all explained in an accessible and interesting narrative. Additionally, Etcheson succeeds in demonstrating the important impact that events in Kansas had on national affairs including the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, the creation of the Republican Party, the disruption of the Democratic Party over the Lecompton Constitution, and the eastward migration of Kansas's violence at Harpers Ferry. Readers familiar with Kansas history will recognize many of the colorful figures from the territorial period. Charles Robinson, John Brown, James Lane, Robert J. Walker, and James Montgomery all figure prominently in Etcheson's story. For those less familiar with these men, Bleeding Kansas may prove a bit frustrating, and these readers may wish to supplement it with other works delving more deeply into these men's fascinating backgrounds.

Etcheson posits territorial Kansas as a case study in popular sovereignty, the political compromise that allowed the people of a territory to decide whether slavery would exist in their midst. She demonstrates that popular sovereignty, though very attractive in theory, proved impractical in the rough-and-tumble reality of antebellum politics. Popular sovereignty's deceptively simple concept of majority rule created unanswerable questions including: How should voter eligibility be determined and how could ubiquitous vote fraud be addressed? How could minority rights be protected? And, how could the tension between morality and majority rule be reconciled? Neither Kansans nor national political leaders could resolve these dilemmas, and consequently Kansas bled. In addition to proving popular sovereignty a failure, Etcheson's most important contribution to the understanding of events in Kansas is her assertion that all settlers, whether advocating a free or slave Kansas, believed that the conflict centered upon the issue of liberty, not for slaves, but for white men. Proslavery men believed that white liberty rested on slavery, and freestaters, a group comprising an abolitionist minority and a majority who desired the exclusion of all African Americans from the territory, countered that Southern attacks on their political rights challenged their liberty and placed them in a situation akin to slavery. Given Kansans' hypersensitivity to their own liberty, perhaps it is not surprising that violence broke out. Etcheson follows this argument up with a second contention—that this carnage ultimately radicalized free-state men and led them to expand their definition of liberty to encompass African Americans. Such disparate events as James Lane's transformation to abolitionism, the enlistment of black troops during the Civil War, and the post-Reconstruction exoduster movement are used to assert that the violence of the territorial period pushed many Kansans to embrace black liberty. This latter argument, while presented logically, lacks convincing proof, particularly in light of the racial realities of postwar Kansas. In contrast, *Bleeding Kansas* employs an overwhelming array of evidence to persuasively prove the former claim—that white Kansans of all political stripes thought first of their own liberty.

The minor cavils offered in this review do not detract from the many positive contributions that *Bleeding Kansas* makes to the understanding of Kansas history, antebellum politics, and the coming of the Civil War. As Kansans celebrate their sesquicentennial, Etcheson's work will provide them with a greater understanding of the events in territorial Kansas, and it will remain the standard text on the subject long after the anniversary celebrations are completed.

Reviewed by John M. Sacher, *assistant professor of history, Emporia State University.*

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics

by Michael D. Pierson

xiii + 250 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, paper $19.95.

More than thirty years ago Eric Foner published his now classic work *Free Labor, Free Men, Free Soil: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the War*. In this volume Foner rescued the then much reviled Radical Republicans from the denigrating clutches of the consensus historians by demonstrating the many ways in which their political positions on critical issues like the immediate abolition of slavery actually underwrote the formation of the Republican Party as a whole. In his work *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics*, Michael Pierson follows a similar path as that carved out by Foner a generation earlier. Through a careful analysis of the same subparties that led up to the formation of the Republican Party, Pierson argues for the critical role that another group, women, and a new social relation, gender, played in the formation of the Republican Party. While Foner's reclamation of the role of the Radical Republicans entailed the recognition that ideology constituted a "world view," as Foner put it, and not the wild eyed excesses of a group of overheated ideologues, Pierson takes this insight with regard to the materially grounded nature of politics one step wider in his use of the term "political culture." Not only were the issues raised by Radical Republicans materially grounded in their lived experience, according to Pierson the experiences of citizens without formal political power, here women, also drove the formation of the Republican Party. Partisan politics, in Pierson's analysis, were not only "material," they also were "cultural."

Pierson begins his book with a discussion of the market revolution and its impact on the largely subsistence-based households of the Northeast in the early nineteenth century. He traces the consequent changes in gender roles and their politicization beginning with a brief discussion of the radical abolitionists, but focusing primarily upon the Liberty Party, the Free Soil Party, and ultimately the Republican Party in the elections of 1856 and 1860. The story of the emergent role of women and gender and the formation of these parties was not always a straightforward one, and Pierson analyzes the contingent, and sometimes unexpected, contributions of the twists and turns of gender politics to the party's formation with considerable nuance and sophistication. For example, Pierson makes an intriguing case about how the moral commitment of the radical abolitionists was kept alive in the Free Soil Party precisely because gender roles were assumed to be limited by sphere and women's contribution to the party was overwhelmingly domestic. So while the men of the Free Soil Party focused on the threat of Slave Power to the economic interests of free white men, women in the party, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, actually were empowered to carry on the moral message of immediate abolition in works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with no apparent contradiction to the party's publicly stated economic priorities.

The great strength of Pierson's work then lies in how it serves to deepen our understanding of exactly how gender mattered and to thereby widen our appreciation for the role that culture played in party formation and in electoral success. Readers will for instance undoubtedly be interested to learn that the entire Republican Party slogan in the election of 1856 was not, "free labor, free men, free soil," but rather, "free labor, free men, free soil, free hearts and free homes." While paying some attention to changes in male gender roles, Pierson focuses primarily upon the changes in women's roles in the North, and the contribution that women, as writers, as consumers, and in their charitable activities, made to the antislavery parties. Perhaps in his next work Pierson will reenvision the party platform itself and suggest how the "main" issues of the party, for instance western expansion, the containment of slavery, or the fear of proletarianization, were themselves gendered male. In the meantime we can finally hear the sound of the other hand clapping in the making of the political culture of the early nineteenth-century antislavery parties, and it sounds good.

Reviewed by LeeAnn Whites, *professor of history, University of Missouri.*

Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States

by Elaine Frantz Parsons

xi + 241 pages, notes, essay on sources, index. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, cloth, $42.95.

Andrew Faivre, a tailor in Sioux City, passed out as he left his favorite saloon and staggered toward home on a wintry night in 1899. Discovered the next morning, he had frostbite so severe that a doctor had to amputate his hands. His wife filed a civil damage lawsuit against the saloonkeepers who had plied him with booze the night of his tragedy. Working with this poignant story and many more like it, Parsons gives us a clearly argued and richly substantiated analysis of the drink debate.

What really caused Andrew and other men like him—seemingly helpless men who became unable to fill their role as head of household—to end up as hopeless "drunkards"? Was it a lack of manly volition? An irresistible seduction to have that first glass, held out by a greedy saloonkeeper, wily female, or corrupt buddy? In sum, was it some weakness inside the man, or was it his environment that caused him to become a drunkard?

Other questions arise: What would save him and his family from further ruin? If he was helpless to save himself, then who could rescue him? Wouldn't laws be needed to regulate his intake since he couldn't regulate it himself? And if men were wired for weakness to booze and other temptations, then is it only a woman who must leave the cozy comfort of her home to enter the public sphere and save him?

Parsons deftly tracks these questions as central to the debate over drinking among nineteenth-century temperance reformers and their opponents. Her detective work unearths a mostly unexamined treasure trove of evidence: court cases involving drinkers that give voice to the experiences of immigrants and rural workers. Based on a stunning array of sources (court documents, novels, short stories, song lyrics, medical writings, newspapers, drama, pamphlets), Parsons unfolds the contours of a "discursive system" fundamental to nineteenth-century American society and politics.

She breathes new life into our understanding of the "drunkard narrative" by putting it into the context of the larger cultural debate over volition. After the Civil War, Parsons argues, temperance writers were even more likely to view the drunkard as a victim of his environment (especially immoral saloonkeepers), rather than as morally responsible for his own actions. This discursive and philosophical shift created the catalyst for more coercive reform (e.g., state prohibition laws and anti-saloon vigilantism) in the post-bellum era.

One of her important contributions to temperance scholarship (and there are many in this book) includes Parson's exacting analysis of the subtle discursive changes related to women's entrance into the public sphere. She calls into question the conventional views that women reformers entered temperance work as an acceptable way to politicize themselves or that leaders such as Frances Willard purposefully manipulated conservative women into swallowing the bitter pill of politics by sugar-coating it with the temperance agenda. Instead, in her penultimate chapter entitled "Resolution," Parsons shows that women went into temperance activism because they viewed drunken men—helpless to quit the bottle—as having been "dethroned" from their proper patriarchal role, sadly incompetent to fulfill manhood's chief pledge: mind one's own business, take care of one's own affairs. The goal of these temperance women was to "prop" the patriarchs back up, not undermine them. Just as the men were "trapped in the saloon at the mercy of the saloonkeepers," so were the women "trapped in the home at the mercy of husbands." Because of her moral purity, the woman succeeded at exercising a volition and determination that the drunken man could not; woman left her prison to liberate him from his.

Parsons's provocative intersection of these two victimization genres gives a richly textured lens through which to understand why Andrew Faivre's wife, Louise, entered the "manly" arena of court to pursue her civil damage suit against the saloonkeepers "responsible" for his demise, and why Andrew provided humiliating pictures of his amputated hands to support his wife's case.

Reviewed by Fran Grace, *associate professor of religious studies, University of Redlands, Redlands, California.*

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

Sacred Debts: State Civil War Claims and American Federalism, 1861–1880

by Kyle S. Sinisi

xvi + 208 pages, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. New York: Fordham University Press, 2003, cloth $50.00.

The publication of vast quantities of Civil War historiography for almost 140 years has made it increasingly difficult for authors to find new aspects of the conflict to investigate. Kyle S. Sinisi, an associate professor of history at The Citadel, breaks new ground, however, in *Sacred Debts*, a volume in the Fordham University Press series *The North's Civil War*. Professor Sinisi examines the Gilded Age struggle between state and federal governments over who would pay the costs of fighting the war. He focuses on the claims from Kansas, Kentucky, and Missouri, which together accounted for just over one-quarter of the more than forty-four million dollars in federal reimbursement that was paid to twenty-four states and Colorado Territory through 1884.

Professor Sinisi points out that "some scholars have placed the origins of the modern state in the years immediately following the Civil War" (p. 26), when Congress had trouble dealing effectively with an assortment of new or expanded responsibilities. Americans learned that they could file a variety of claims—for bounties, homesteads, and pensions, to name a few—and as the demands on government grew, so did the number of lobbyists representing them. Some states hired lobbyists, or agents, to press their claims while others relied on their own militia officers to collect war claims data and present it in Washington. Whichever course the states took they rarely cooperated with each other, and if they were reimbursed it was mainly due to their own organization and persistence. Of the states who received federal reimbursement after the war, Missouri led the pack with almost $7.6 million, while Kentucky placed sixth with $3.5 million.

Kansas's much smaller claim for federal dollars centered on costs related to the Price Raid, the campaign conducted by Confederate Major General Sterling Price in Missouri and eastern Kansas in the fall of 1864. As Price's army moved westward across Missouri, Governor Thomas Carney called up the Kansas State Militia, and the short active service of more than fifteen thousand citizen-soldiers generated a large bill that the infant state could not afford to pay. To placate those who presented claims for militia service, as well as for damages, transportation, supplies, and lost property, Kansas issued more than half a million dollars in Union military scrip in 1867, with the understanding that the scrip could be redeemed with 7 percent interest when the federal government later assumed the debt. Four years later Congress appointed the Hardie Commission, and unfortunately for Kansas, its members decided that the government only owed the state about $337,000. As the author points out, the disparity between these two amounts meant that the Price Raid claims were never adequately settled. They "became synonymous less with a valiant defeat of a desperate Confederate invasion than an administrative tangle no one could unlock" and "remained forever a riddle" (p. 169).

In his discussion of Kansas's claims, Professor Sinisi should have put some human faces on the debt by including a few examples of the many speculators who bought heavily discounted scrip from cash-hungry claimants. The very detailed *Report of the Price Raid Commissioner* (1889) shows how citizens' scrip changed hands, and significant amounts of it ended up in the clutchs of individuals who purchased it at discounts of up to 70 percent. In Leavenworth, for example, famous Kansan Thomas L. Moonlight purchased $238 in scrip from sixteen former members of one black militia company. Sinisi also could have extended the tale of the "funny-looking pieces of paper" well beyond the mid-1950s (p. 170). As late as 2000, a woman in New Mexico was hoping that Kansas would redeem her $148 in scrip for about $1.2 million—the amazing sum that annual interest of 7 percent had produced after more than 130 years—but the state legislature rejected her claim.

These are minor oversights, however, and certainly do not diminish the usefulness of *Sacred Debts*. The author has produced a well-researched study that should appeal to all those readers interested in the significant impact that the Civil War exerted upon both politics and finance throughout the Gilded Age.

Reviewed by Roger D. Cunningham, *retired army officer, Fairfax County, Virginia.*

One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark

by Colin G. Calloway

xvii + 631 pages, notes, bibliography, index.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003, cloth $39.95.

Colin Calloway chose not to begin his study of western Native American scholarship in 1492 for a reason. The Native American West existed long before Columbus ushered in the European migration to the Americas. To begin a history of Native Americans and their relationship to the American West at the arrival of Europeans (as the editors of the *History of the American West Series* originally wanted him to do) simultaneously reinforces perceptions of indigenous peoples as without history, and reduces the lifespan of human existence in the western hemisphere to a relatively short five hundred years. Such a myopic vision of the West already exists in fifty-year-old textbooks. However, for those seeking a deeper understanding of the world Europeans found in the West, this book provides a much longed-for synthesis.

Calloway takes on a monumental and complex task in *One Vast Winter Count*. The very size of the volume stands as evidence to the vast amount of scholarship required to present Native American history over ten to fifteen thousand years. Such an ambitious undertaking also requires that the author work without the safety net of written sources in many instances. Hence, Calloway's background in and familiarity with the techniques of ethnohistory serve him well in this endeavor. In addition, Calloway realizes that the boundaries of the West (in as much as it has ever had defined boundaries) are not static. Therefore, his study focuses on all native cultures west of the Appalachians.

The book adheres to a basic chronological structure and proceeds from an archeological investigation of the earliest inhabitants of North America, through the corn revolution, contact with Europeans, and early conflicts with Americans. As the book is a synthesis of previously published scholarship, Calloway eschews an overall thesis other than a consistent focus on the role of conflict and change in the development of Native American societies. He utilizes anthropological sources from such practitioners as John Ewers and Gene Weltfish. However, *One Vast Winter Count* also blends those sources with more recent ethnohistory from scholars such as Bruce Trigger, Daniel Usner and Richard White. The resulting work illuminates a world far different from the static pre-histories of the past. Western Native Americans throughout the millennia have adapted their communities and cultures in response to various stimuli. Whether it was climatic change, the introduction of corn cultivation, horses, or European invaders, indigenous westerners evolved constantly in an effort not only to survive, but also to thrive.

One Vast Winter Count does suffer from limitations inherent in the genre of historical synthesis. The enormous amount of material Calloway examines precludes close observation of all but a few sources. Therefore, scholars of the various sub-regions and cultures presented here can no doubt find fault with some of the interpretations. Additionally, one can make the case that Calloway falls into the trap of placing too much emphasis on Plains equestrians at the expense of groups with mixed economies. Finally, native groups of the far West and northwest receive scant attention. Historians of those particular groups will no doubt take exception to this omission. However, all of these shortcomings stem from the difficulties of historical synthesis itself and not from any lack of scholarly effort on Calloway's part.

It is interesting that the author uses the epilogue to apply his findings to the rhetorical battle over American exceptionalism. Realizing that the length of the Indian relationship with the American West stretches back millennia as opposed to a negligible five centuries changes one's perspective. According to Calloway, "recent events have exposed dramatically the fragility of our own power and prosperity . . . the United States might better be seen as a phase rather than a final solution" (p. 433–34). Undoubtedly, this assertion will spark much debate.

Overall, *One Vast Winter Count* constitutes a welcome addition to Native American historiography. While its length and breadth hamper its usefulness as an assigned text, its ambitious and thorough synthesis makes it a valuable tool for instructors seeking to present a more intricate picture of western Native Americans to their students.

Reviewed by Ethan A. Schmidt, *doctoral student and assistant instructor of history, University of Kansas.*

Soldier, Surgeon, Scholar: The Memoirs of William Henry Corbusier, 1844–1930

edited by Robert Wooster

xx + 234 pages, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, cloth $29.95.

Fanny Dunbar Corbusier: Recollections of Her Army Life, 1869–1908

edited by Patricia Y. Stallard

xix + 348 pages, photographs, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, cloth $29.95.

Dr. William H. Corbusier was not one of the legendary military heroes of American history, nor is his name recognized today by more than a handful of people. Yet, this career army officer and surgeon epitomized the era of the "old army" as he labored tirelessly at far flung military posts during the fury of the Great Plains and southwestern Indian wars. Beyond his honorable service record, Corbusier evidenced a level of intellectual curiosity that led him to observe Native American ceremonies and cultural ways. He published these descriptive narratives in eminent scientific works ranging from the *American Antiquarian* to the Bureau of American Ethnology's *Annual Reports* and participated in scholarly exchanges about linguistics and traditional customs. In these capacities he splendidly represented the ideal of the soldier–scientist and cultured gentleman of the late-nineteenth-century military.

Following his second retirement in 1919, Corbusier began preparing his memoirs for possible publication. Somewhat curiously, he elected to provide five full chapters about his boyhood in New York City, adolescent years in the California goldfields, service with Illinois volunteer units during the Civil War, and his Reconstruction duty in the South after the war. Three concluding chapters describe his two military tours in the Philippines between 1898 and 1906, and his retirement years. This leaves only two full chapters to relate the heart of his military career at frontier posts that included such diverse locations as McDowell Verde, San Carlos, Bowie, Grant, Sheridan, Washakie, Hays, Lewis, and Supply. This lack of balance in the memoirs remains unexplained, but Corbusier certainly labored under difficulties in preparing this manuscript for publication. Virtually all of his notes and records from the frontier era were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, leaving him only with his brief diary.

Dr. Corbusier did not live long enough to see publication of his memoirs, and when they finally were published by his son in 1968, they were organized in a confusing fashion and poorly edited for use by scholars and general readers alike. This newly published version returns to Corbusier's original manuscript, but buttresses it with prolific and precise editorial notes to properly identify people, places and events. Editor Robert Wooster is ideally suited to provide these addenda because of his extensive research into frontier military history and his familiarity with the exact situations that Corbusier described. Furthermore, Wooster provides a brief but incisive introduction that places the memoirs and Corbusier's life into a broader context.

This definitive edition of Dr. Corbusier's memoirs makes an important contribution to American frontier and military history, and it is rendered even more valuable by the simultaneous publication of his wife's view of many of the same events. After marrying in 1869, Fanny Dunbar Corbusier made her own "career" in the army by accompanying her husband from post to post for the next half century. Unlike her spouse, Fanny prepared her recollections only for family use; she had no intention of seeking a publisher for what she regarded as material uninteresting to a general audience. This modest woman's conclusion ultimately proved to be erroneous, for her story offers far more detail and perceptive analysis of people and events than does her husband's writing.

Born and raised as a Southerner—first in Baltimore and later in New Orleans—this educated and cultured woman shocked some of her friends and relatives by marrying a Yankee soldier during the emotionally charged Reconstruction years. As editor Patricia Stallard notes, Fanny embraced the ideals of the Cult of True Womanhood—piety, purity, domesticity and submissiveness—but she was also a person of great resourcefulness and creativity. Within the atmosphere of the home, she made most of the domestic decisions, and her commitment to the children was loving and all encompassing. Beyond conforming to the alleged virtues of the Cult of True Womanhood, Fanny Corbusier had to abide by the restrictive nature of being an officer's wife. Her conduct had to be above reproach and she constantly had to play the diplomatic game so as not to alienate other officers or wives who might subvert her husband's career. Yet, within her recollections, the reader sees a more private side of this vibrant woman. In preparing the typescript for her family's enlightenment, she no longer was bound by the narrow confines of military decorum, and thus could speak her mind more openly.

Robert Wooster and Patricia Stallard have done yeoman service in preparing these editions. Both books can be comfortably navigated by casual readers as well as mined for new information by researchers today.

Reviewed by Michael L. Tate, *professor of history, University of Nebraska, Omaha.*

Morality and the Mail in Nineteenth Century America

by Wayne E. Fuller

xiii + 264 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003, paper $39.95.

"Get Viagra by Mail!" "Increase Your Bust to DD Cup!" "Discover Sex Secrets of the Stars!" The American whose electronic mail is not cluttered with such spam is lucky indeed; sexually explicit advertisements and pop-ups seem to predominate almost any foray into the Internet. As it turns out, this is nothing terribly new. Nineteenth-century Americans experienced something similar thanks to entrepeneurs' use of the marvelous, continent-spanning postal system. America's cultural history can be traced by following the debate regarding the government's responsibility to monitor the use of the postal system. Might citizens use the system to ends running counter to the moral sensibility of the majority of Americans? Can this wondrous technology be put to sordid use without regard to the ethical and religious values of a God-fearing populace? Professor Wayne Fuller's history of the postal system's attempts to balance morality with First Amendment freedoms provides a remarkable glimpse at controversies that continue into the Age of Information.

In the first half of the book, Fuller describes the development of the postal system in relation to Evangelical attempts to create a Sabbath. Shortly after the beginning of the "Second Great Awakening," Congress opened post offices on Sundays, and the response of Calvinist ministers in New England prefigured contemporary Moral Majority attempts to "preserve a Christian nation, ensure democracy, and save the nation from paganism"(p. 10). Into the 1840s the Evangelical Sabbatarians' arguments that the government courted divine retribution for flouting the decalogue were fruitless. For a time during mid-century, when the horrendous bloodshed of the war and the events of Holy Week 1865 captured the American imagination, it seemed that a devout, Sabbath-keeping nation was at hand, but post-war growth and social change ultimately spelled an end for that dream. Fuller describes the personal politics underlying the union of secular and Evangelical movements in the progress toward national recognition of a weekly day of rest, and the opposition of powerful publishers fearful that such recognition would prohibit mail delivery of popular Sunday papers.

If the Evangelical leaders could not succeed in bringing the nation to a weekly halt, they certainly could work within the political system to regulate the content of what was ensured as federally protected mail. In the second half of the study, Fuller concentrates on the dissemination of sexually explicit material in the mail, and the outraged attempts by Christian leaders and legislators to eliminate the practice. Anthony Comstock occupies centerstage throughout, for his crusade to combat obscenity set the tone for much that was to follow in the later decades of the century. The colorful Speaker "Uncle Joe" Cannon had ammended the 1873 Comstock law to outlaw using the U.S. Postal Service to mail "filthy and disgusting" literature, and Comstock's followers vigorously pursued their quarry into the lucrative market of paperbound books. Fuller describes the development of legislation leading to nationwide censorship, bringing to life arguments grounded in moral law and Christian values as basis for congressional legislation that continue to echo in House and Senate debates today. Of particular interest is the relation of the postal system's cheap and reliable mail services to newly arising arguments about reproduction rights. Fuller explains that the prevalence of advertisements in nineteenth-century mails, particularly of patent medicines, led to the widespread growth of markets for contraceptives and abortificients. Two factors contributed to the growth of postal inspectors' authority on what counted as prurient. Medical science was aghast at the freedom afforded abortionists to advertise what frequently ended in murder, and Evangelical organizations—most notably the WCTU—were certain that such information would contribute to the degeneration of the family in American society.

Fuller's exploration of the attempts to eradicate advertisements and pornographic hackwork that seem today to be more ridiculous than risque is the highpoint of the study. His description of the moral crusades of Comstock and others in this endeavor invite comparison to the efforts of the Moral Majority and other contemporary Evangelical Christian political organizations. Pursuing this comparison would require more attention to the interrelation of denominational and non-denominational Evangelical Christians during the nineteenth century than is possible in a study of the U.S. Postal Service. The reader wanting fuller examination of the politics underlying nineteenth-century Protestant attempts at legislation of morality will find Fuller's notes a useful resource.

Reviewed by Stephen E. Lahey, *Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.*

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

The Price of Progress: Public Services, Taxation, and the American Corporate State, 1877–1929

by R. Rudy Higgens-Evenson

x + 168 pages, appendix, notes, essay on methods and sources, index.
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, cloth $39.95.

Studies of the responses to the problems brought on by America's industrialization have emphasized efforts to regulate or break up concentrations of corporate power. Also important, but relatively neglected by historians, were attempts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to tax business. When taxations has been dealt with historically, the focus has tended to be on federal measures, notably the tariff and the income tax, which most of the public paid indirectly or not at all. State taxation has been largely ignored. Higgens-Evenson's short but solid and sophisticated work does much to bring attention to efforts to make business pay a fair share. The author explores the relationship between new tax measures and the ultimate creation of a partnership between state government and the corporation.

At the beginning of America's industrialization, state and local governments were still relying mainly on the taxation of real property. Corporate property, often in the form of stocks and bonds, was less visible and thus more difficult to assess. States created various measures designed to reach concentrations of wealth. These included taxes on inheritance, corporate and individual income, and gasoline. Reformers demanded the new and more equitable forms of taxation to finance public schools, care of the insane, and, increasingly, programs to address the ills brought on by industrialization and urbanization.

The author divides the country into "corporate states" and "Jeffersonian republics." The former include the more industrialized states, such as New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and California. The latter are composed of the predominantly rural states of the South, Far West, and much of the Midwest. Kansas, Higgens-Evenson asserts, was the "most die-hard Jeffersonian republic" (p. 112). The corporate states led the way in the implementation of the new forms of taxation; the Jeffersonian republics adopted them more slowly. The direct democracy devices of the early twentieth century—the initiative and the referendum—facilitated their adoption.

The "price" in the title refers to the accommodation reached between the states and the business interests. In return for accepting the new taxes, business pressured state and local governments into adopting more efficient forms of government. Leading the crusade for greater efficiency were taxpayers associations and bureaus of government research. Among the more important voices advocating tax reform were David Wells in the nineteenth century and Edwin Robert Anderson Seligman in the twentieth. The triumph of taxing systems agreeable to corporate interests lend support to the contention of Gabriel Kolko and other historians that many of the reforms of the so-called Progressive Era benefited the corporations more than the public.

The book's conclusions no doubt will meet with criticism. The author's calm and factual approach and extensive research, however, allow him to present a convincing thesis.

Reviewed by Michael J. Brodhead, *historian, U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Alexandria, Virginia.*

The Indian Frontier, 1763–1846

by R. Douglas Hurt

xvii + 300 pages, maps, illustrations, chronology, notes, bibliography, index.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002, paper $21.95.

Appearing as a volume in the acclaimed *Histories of the American Frontier* series, *The Indian Frontier, 1763–1846* is a well-constructed historical synthesis of this significant period of Indian–white relations west of the Appalachian Mountains that begins with the end of the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War) in 1763 and concludes with the beginning of the Mexican War in 1846. R. Douglas Hurt details the conflict and cooperation between Indians and whites regarding trade, land, peace, and war and emphasizes how Indian and non-Indian nations developed different policies. Indeed, in this complex clash of cultures, it was not a simple dichotomy of Indians versus whites; Indians adopted new policies in dealing with each other as well as in dealing with Europeans and Americans, and the latter did the same in adopting multiple policies in their quest to dominate and exploit Indian America.

Hurt also lays to rest, in the opinion of this reviewer, the controversy involving the use of the word frontier(s) in describing Indian–white relations. Hurt properly defines frontier(s) as zones of cultural encounters and interactions and always changing. He writes that "a frontier by definition is a dynamic region, which undergoes continuous reorganization and renegotiation as the economic, social, political, and military needs of people change" (p. xvi). Hurt recognizes that the frontier was not an orderly westward moving line. In sum, Hurt believes the frontier can be both a place and a state of mind, and the ultimate objective of frontier relations was securing power.

The book is divided into nine chapters, each focusing on the contest for power in different frontier regions. With the elimination of France as a major colonial power in America after the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Indian–white relations changed dramatically. For example, the English no longer had to worry about Indian threats of aligning with the French if Indian demands were not met, and Indian gift giving, an important feature of diplomacy, was curtailed, causing major problems for many Indians who had become accustomed to the superior European technology. Other important topics discussed by Hurt include goals of English, Spanish, and United States treaty-making policies; new interpretations of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763 and of the role played by Indians in the American Revolution; Spanish Indian policies in the Southwest and in the Pacific Northwest, including the effectiveness of missions and presidios; and land-grabbing policies of the United States, including William Henry Harrison's notorious methods of negotiation and the tragic Indian removal policies. Throughout the book, Hurt includes Indian perceptions of events and stresses that Indian nations always developed strategies to protect themselves and were not passive victims.

Hurt has written an excellent synthesis that is highly readable and effectively argued. The book is based on solid research and contains many fine illustrations and useful maps. *The Indian Frontier* was not an easy book to write, and Hurt must be complimented for undertaking such a project. Students of Indian history will find this book very helpful, and instructors of Native American history should consider it for course adoption.

Reviewed by Raymond Wilson, *professor of history, Fort Hays State University, Hays.*

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

www.territorialkansasonline.org

Kansas State Historical Society and
the University of Kansas

Everything about Territorial Kansas Online is a class act, including the colorful (hard copy) bookmark that directed me to the site. The continuing project is funded in large part by federal dollars from the Institute of Museum and Library Services, and we are grateful to IMLS. It is, as stated, "a virtual repository" of primary source materials of 1854 through 1861 in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society and the Kansas Collection of the University of Kansas. While it is hyperbole to say that "[h]undreds of personal letters, diaries, photos, and maps bring to life the settling of Kansas during the fierce debate over slavery," certainly the extensive materials (which also include "government documents . . . newspapers, rare secondary sources, and historical artifacts," as well as "poetry, music, political cartoons"), all thoroughly indexed, enhance understanding of the era. It is colorful enough to be eye-catching, yet easy to read. It is a must-see, must-use site—easy to browse and to search by keyword, and rewarding in results.

A click on "Topics," leads to an introduction to Kansas's territorial era. This is followed by detailed sections on politics, government, elections, parties, newspapers, legislatures, and constitution-making. The Topeka, Lecompton, Leavenworth and Wyandotte Constitutions are provided for comparison. Other subtopics include boundary issues, women's rights, the debate concerning the rights of African Americans, and the national debate about Kansas. Border disputes and warfare—border ruffians, jayhawkers, military organization, including both the U.S. army and militias, and a long list of significant incidents receive extensive attention as do immigration and early settlement; immigrant aid organizations, both free-state and proslavery; slaves in Kansas Territory; the underground railroad; community life; daily life; American Indians, and specific settlements. The section on the economy includes agriculture, commercial efforts, and transportation. Useful tools include *The Annals of Kansas* for 1854 through 1861, a bibliography, and links to other sites.

A page called "Personalities" lets one scan alphabetically for individuals. I looked up the captain of John Brown's guard, 1856–1857, James Henry Holmes, who is now less known than his wife, Julia Anna Archibald Holmes, the first woman known to have climbed to the top of Pike's Peak (in 1858 the western border of Kansas Territory). Six letters either contained references to or were by James Henry Holmes. There was nothing on Julia or her parents, who came to the Lawrence area with New England Emigrant Aid Society help in 1854. This leads to one of the very few criticisms I can make of the site—the lack of an explanation of selection criteria. To say that one has selected the "best" does not explain how it was determined what the "best" is. Visitors should be reminded that this site is not (yet?) comprehensive, and told briefly how selections have been made.

The other critique is one of semantics. There is one tab that reads "map" and that map's title is "Browse by County 1854–1861." During territorial days the only counties were in the eastern part of the state. The drawing of the map is truncated where the counties end. The implication is that Kansas Territory extended no farther than Cloud County on the north and Sumner County to the south. If a map such as Colton's of 1855 is on the site, I did not readily find it.

I had my undergraduate Kansas history students at Emporia State University (many of them future teachers) look at the site, and they gave it rave reviews. As one of my students said, "Learning was fun. I really enjoyed surfing. Tons of information." Others commented on the detailed information and the ease of accessing it. They had a wide range of computers, but no student reported difficulty in bringing up the graphic files. The bottom line is that they learned things from the site and enjoyed doing so, which certainly makes it a success in my book! Oh, yes, the site includes lesson plans correlated to Kansas Department of Education standards.

Extensive digitization of territorial Kansas materials and making them publicly accessible has a wide range of advantages. The site enables researchers for whom travel to Topeka is a hardship ready access. It even speeds research for those accustomed to researching at the Center for Historical Research who can now do so at home, at midnight, in jammies, with a dog at their feet, and a cup of tea at their elbow. Several individuals can use a single unique item not only in different locations, but also at the same time. Those individuals can also print the item at relatively little cost on their own equipment. And, when manuscripts are neither handled nor copied, the cause of preservation is served while access continues, and original manuscripts and documents are protected for future generations. While created for 2004 sesquicentennial events, the site's usefulness will persist.

One can hope that an ancillary outcome will be an increase in appreciation for, and an identification with, the work and resources of the Kansas State Historical Society and the Kansas Collection at the University of Kansas, both of which, with the staff members listed on the site (and no doubt others who shouldered additional work while their colleagues took on this task) should be applauded for their service to this state.

Again, this site is a "must"—but warning, it is so interesting that it just might take over your life—or at least, that I might not be accused of hyperbole, several hours might pass before you know it.

Reviewed by Joyce Thierer, *Ride into History and lecturer in history, Emporia State University.*

BOOK NOTES

On the River with Lewis and Clark. By Verne Huser. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. xiv + 205 pages, paper $17.95.)

River guide and naturalist Verne Huser adds to the plethora of new, bicentennial Lewis and Clarke literature with what one journalist and author calls "a trove of background knowledge, reference points, and insight, from a veteran riverman." Huser covers many diverse topics as he strives "to show how the rivers figured in every aspect of the journey from food gathering and fire building to meeting native people and employing basic transportation" and to catalog the Corps of Discovery's accomplishments. Although he gives little or no attention to the short Kansas leg of the 1804–1806 journey, Huser offers a unique perspective that historian James P. Rhonda says is "built on years of first-hand experience and careful historical research."

"A Vast and Open Plain": The Writings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in North Dakota, 1804–1806. Edited by Clay S. Jenkinson. (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2003. xxi + 594 pages, cloth $49.95; paper $34.95.)

For those interested in a meticulous exanimation of the Corps of Discovery's lengthy stay in what became the state of North Dakota (the winter of 1804–1805, as well as much of August 1806), *"A Vast and Open Plain"* will be a welcome and exciting supplement to Gary E. Moulton's monumental multi-volume *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*. Clay S. Jenkinson, Lewis and Clark scholar-in-residence at Lewis & Clark College, Portland, Oregon, offers new incite through his introduction and careful annotations and greater understanding of the members of the expedition and the native peoples they encountered; historian James P. Rhonda's foreword is also valuable in this regard.

P.O.E. in Kansas: Our Centennial Heritage, Kansas State Chapter 1903–2003. Edited and compiled by Centennial Book Committee. (Newton, Kans.: Mennonite Press for the Kansas State Chapter of P.O.E., 2003. xvi + 435 pages, cloth $20.00 plus $5.00 shipping.)

P.O.E., a women's international philanthropic and educational organization, was founded at Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, in 1869, and although Kansas did not have the requisite membership to organize statewide until 1903, P.O.E. came to Kansas in 1876 with the creation of the first local chapter. Featuring a nice introductory essay by Wichita State English professor Diane Dufva Quantic, short chapter histories from across the state, and information on various state projects, this attractive volume should prove to be a useful reference on an important organization.

Rivers of Change: Trailing the Waterways of Lewis & Clark. By Tom Mullen. (Malibu, Calif.: Roundwood Press, 2004. x + 348 pages, cloth $25.95).

With eight maps, more than thirty black and white photographs, and a lively narrative that incorporates many contemporary residents' quotations, Tom Mullen, a writer and former water resources consultant, "tells the story of a journey taken along three rivers in the western United States—the Missouri, Yellowstone and Columbia." This "fast paced travelogue" focuses on environmental change and lessons to be learned from the Corps of Discovery and the region's modern inhabitants. In his justifiably short Kansas portion of the story, Mullen draws on the expertise of Atchison's Benedictine College biologist Dan Bowen and "Wolf River Bob" at White Cloud.

Prairie Railroad Town: The Rock Island Railroad Shops at Horton, Kansas, 1887–1946. By I. E. Quastler. (David City, Neb.: South Platte Press, 2003. 144 pages, paper $29.95.)

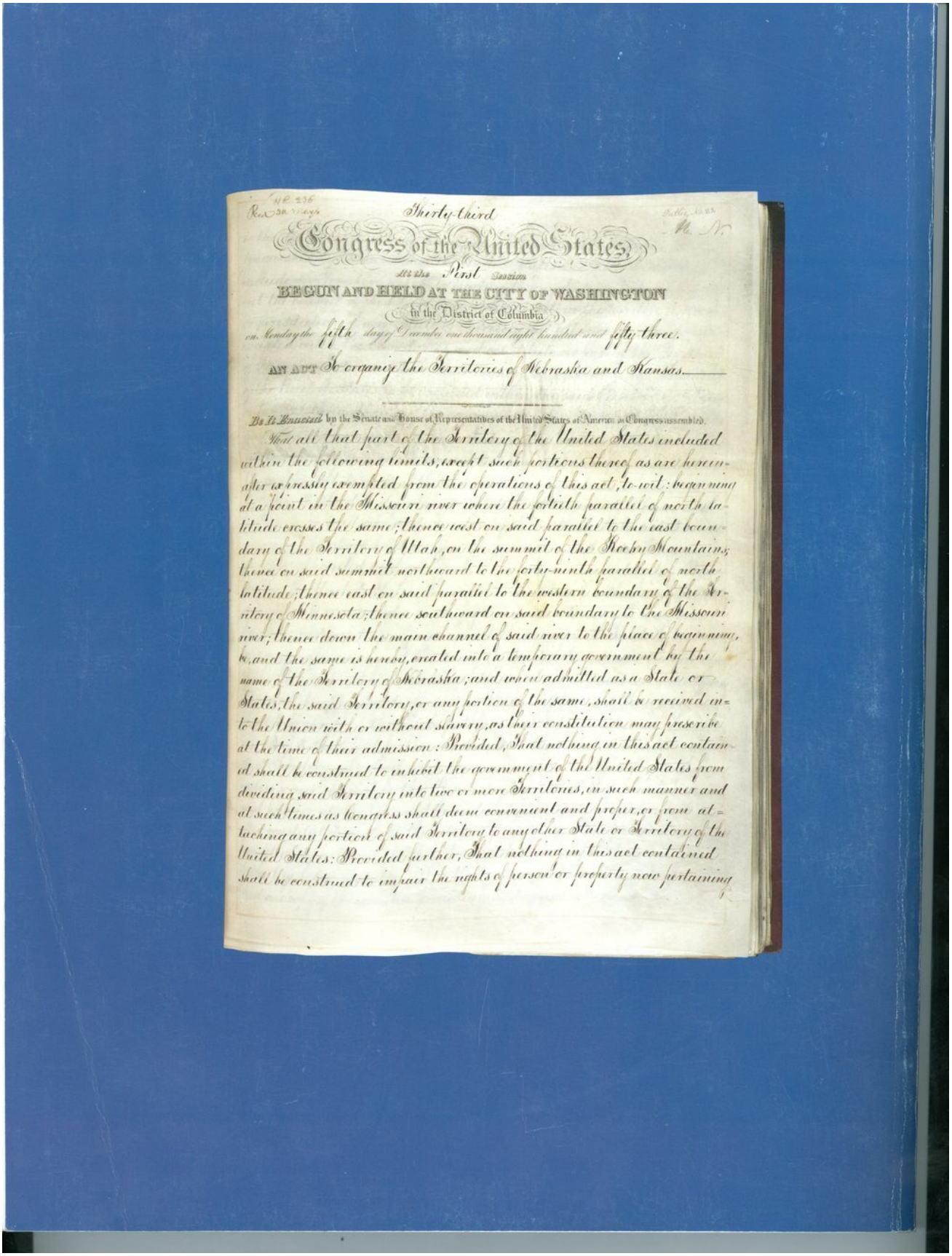
"Horton, Kansas," writes one of the country's leading railroad historians, I. E. Quastler, "was a classic American railroad town," and through the well-crafted narrative and numerous beautifully reproduced historic photographs that follow, *Prairie Railroad Town* gives Horton's railroad history its due. Drawing on numerous photograph collections, including those of the Kansas State Historical Society and the Kansas Collection at the University of Kansas, Professor Quastler offers the reader a look at numerous great locomotives, but he also illustrates the railroad's impact on people with photographs depicting shop and yard work as well as the road's central role in the town's first anniversary celebration. Historians, buffs, and lovers of historic photos will enjoy and no doubt covet this useful and attractive publication, which contains a short bibliography of primary and secondary sources used but has no source notes.

The Border Tier Road: Reflection of an Industry. By Robert Collins. (David City, Neb.: South Platte Press, 2003. 48 pages, paper $4.95.)

Subtitled "a brief history of the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad line from Kansas City, MO to Baxter Springs, KS and beyond," *The Border Tier Road* tells the story of an eastern Kansas line originally built and operated as the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf, formerly the Kansas & Neosho Valley, from the time of the Civil War to the present. The booklet's author, a railroad historian who lives in Andover, Kansas, begins in 1864, covers the road's controversial construction period, and ends with chapters on the "rebirth" and speculation on the "future" of the Border Tier Road that has for so long linked the towns of Kansas City, Paola, Fort Scott, Girard, and Baxter Springs.

Governors' Mansions of the Midwest. By Ann Liberman. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004. 172 pages, paper $34.95.)

With beautiful full-color exterior and interior photographs by Alise O'Brien, *Governors' Mansions of the Midwest* document's the history of twelve official state residences from Ohio to Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. In each case the author offers the vital statistics (construction date and cost, size in square feet, etc.), followed by a lucid historical essay and five or six contemporary photographs; in addition, this coffee table type book contains a useful bibliography of sources used. The section on Cedar Crest, the Kansas governor's mansion, includes a brief description of the renovation that took place during the Graves administration.



Thirty-third

Congress of the United States,

At the First Session,

BEGUN AND HELD AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

in the District of Columbia

on Monday the fifth day of December one thousand eight hundred and fifty three.

AN ACT To organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That all that part of the Territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to-wit: beginning at a point in the Missouri river where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the east boundary of the Territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the Territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, erected into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Nebraska; and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said Territory into two or more Territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said Territory to any other State or Territory of the United States: Provided further, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining

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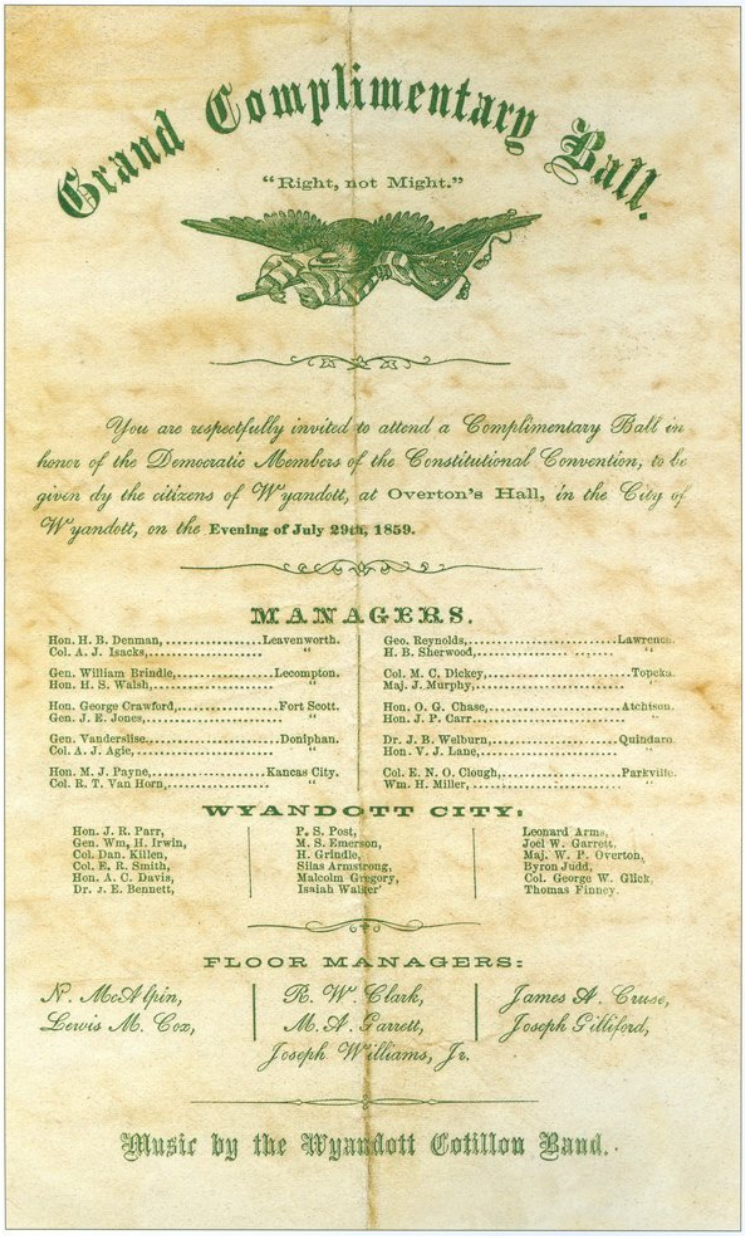
KANSAS HISTORY

A Journal of the Central Plains

Volume 27, Number 3
Autumn 2004

Territorial Kansas ONLINE 1854-1861 A Virtual Repository for Territorial Kansas History



Grand Complimentary Ball.

"Right, not Might."

You are respectfully invited to attend a Complimentary Ball in honor of the Democratic Members of the Constitutional Convention, to be given by the citizens of Wyandott, at Overton's Hall, in the City of Wyandott, on the Evening of July 29th, 1859.

MANAGERS.

Hon. H. B. Denman,.....Leavenworth.	Geo. Reynolds,.....Lawrence.
Col. A. J. Isacks,..... "	H. B. Sherwood,..... "
Gen. William Brindle,.....Lecompton.	Col. M. C. Dickey,.....Topeka.
Hon. H. S. Walsh,..... "	Maj. J. Murphy,..... "
Hon. George Crawford,.....Fort Scott.	Hon. O. G. Chase,.....Atchison.
Gen. J. E. Jones,..... "	Hon. J. P. Carr..... "
Gen. Vandersluse,.....Doniphan.	Dr. J. B. Welburn,.....Quindaro.
Col. A. J. Agie,..... "	Hon. V. J. Lane,..... "
Hon. M. J. Payne,.....Kancas City.	Col. E. N. O. Clough,.....Parkville.
Col. R. T. Van Horn,..... "	Wm. H. Miller,..... "

WYANDOTT CITY.

Hon. J. R. Parr,	P. S. Post,	Leonard Arms,
Gen. Wm. H. Irwin,	M. S. Emerson,	Joel W. Garrett,
Col. Dan. Killen,	H. Grindle,	Maj. W. P. Overton,
Col. E. R. Smith,	Silas Armstrong,	Byron Judd,
Hon. A. C. Davis,	Malcolm Gregory,	Col. George W. Glick,
Dr. J. E. Bennett,	Isaiah Walker	Thomas Finney.

FLOOR MANAGERS:

N. McAlpin,	R. W. Clark,	James A. Cruse,
Lewis M. Cox,	M. A. Parrett,	Joseph Pilliford,
	Joseph Williams, Jr.	

Music by the Wyandott Cotillon Band.

With the free-state faction firmly in control at last, the Kansas territorial legislature of 1859 approved a fourth and final constitutional convention, and in early June delegates were elected to gather at Wyandotte on July 5. Thirty-five Republicans and seventeen Democrats were chosen to attend the convention—the first time territorial delegates carried these now-familiar party labels. The solid Republican majority dominated, of course, and the Democratic delegates refused to sign the constitution that the convention adopted on July 29. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party believed its delegates "performed their whole duty well and faithfully," and the locals wished to honor them at a "Complimentary Ball."

The "Grand Complimentary Ball" invitation (left) is but one of the hundreds of items available on the Territorial Kansas Online website. Click on www.territorialkansasonline.org to discover letters, diaries, photographs, maps, newspapers, government documents, and historical artifacts, all of which provide a tangible connection to the people who lived and experienced Bleeding Kansas.

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COVER: *1940s farm scene. This issue's review essay, "The Agricultural and Rural History of Kansas," begins on page 194.*
BACK COVER: *Promotional poster for the fiftieth anniversary of the Lake Garnett road races. "Hedonism Running Rampant" presents the story of the riot at the 1963 race.*

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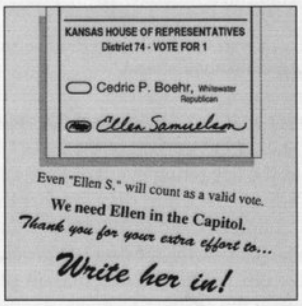

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COVERT DISCRIMINATION

Topeka—Before and After *Brown*

by Robert Beatty and Mark A. Peterson

A few Negro parents appeared Monday at several white elementary schools and requested permission to enroll Negro children, school officials confirmed Monday. The requests were denied by the building principals in each case.

The case of *Reynolds vs. the Topeka Board of Education* in the 1920s [*sic*] established authority of a city board of education to determine which school a child shall attend.[1]

These sixty-two words inaccurately recount an effort aimed at school desegregation in Topeka, Kansas, as reported in the September 11, 1950, edition of the *Topeka State Journal*. At the same time this cryptic passage describes the triggering event of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the 1954 landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that theoretically opened the doors of all white schools to black children. Cryptic, dismissive, inconsequential, unemotional—any of these words might be used to characterize this passage. It provides little portent of the social and political ramifications that followed from the mild confrontation played out that day when a few black parents with offspring in tow climbed the steps of elementary schools across the city to request registration and attendance of their children at their neighborhood elementary schools.

Robert Beatty *is an assistant professor of political science at Washburn University. His interests, research, and projects in Kansas studies focus on history and politics, and he has written extensively about Topeka and the* Brown v Board *decision. He also is the producer and moderator for public affairs programming on KTWU and WUCT in Topeka.* Mark Peterson *earned his Ph.D. at the University of New Mexico and is an assistant professor of political science at Washburn University. His major fields of interest are public policy, urban planning, politics, and budgeting.*

1. "Enrollment Near 1,900 Forecast at Topeka High," *Topeka State Journal*, September 11, 1950. The court case referred to here was the 1903 *Reynolds v Board of Education of Topeka*, 66 Kan. 672 (1903). For an excellent analysis of the legal precedents to *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, see* J. Morgan Kousser, "Before *Plessy*, Before *Brown*: The Development of the Law of Racial Integration in Louisiana and Kansas," in *Toward a Usable Past: Liberty Under State Constitutions*, ed. Paul Finkelman and Stephen E. Gottlieb (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 213–70.

Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 27 (Autumn 2004): 146–163.

The Rambler King and Queen

Barbara Irby and Richard Ridley pose as queen and king of the Topeka High School Rambler basketball team in 1947. On the surface it may appear that Topeka High was a leader in equal rights by electing an ethnic couple for this honor, but further examination reveals that Topeka High's Ramblers was an all-black team, created because black students were not allowed on the high school's principal team, the Trojans. Furthermore, the event to elect the Rambler royal couple was sponsored by the "colored" advisory council, a separate group from Topeka High's major student governing assemblage, the all-white student council.